

## ASPECTS OF EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF EAST GIPPSLAND

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**Abstract**

Captain James Cook's observations of 20 April 1770 are summarized, controversy that has arisen from them discussed, and opinions expressed as to the identity of features which he named. A summary is given of George Bass's observations along the East Gippsland coast in December 1797 and January 1798.

It is shown that the Monaro Plains of south-eastern New South Wales provided a natural corridor for land explorers to reach East Gippsland, and later pastoralists with their cattle. Details are given of the discovery of the Omeo Plains by McKillop in 1835 and the depasturing of cattle there by early 1836, of the establishment of an out-station at Tubbut by early 1839, and of an excursion by McMillan to the Buchan area in 1839, followed by the taking up of a run there in early 1840. Some claims to penetration with cattle to the Gippsland Lakes in 1837 or 1839 are refuted. Details are given of the early occupancy of Suggan Buggan, and of the establishment at Wulgulmerang, by the O'Rourke family in about early 1845, of the first permanent homes in the Snowy River district of East Gippsland. The history of early occupancy of the Genoa River district of East Gippsland is outlined, with details of a licence for a cattle run at Wangarabell in 1839, of the use of the Genoa area in 1840, and of an unsuccessful settlement at Mallacoota in 1842.

An appendix lists data, obtained from the New South Wales State Archives, of depasturing licences for runs in and near East Gippsland. This data appears to have been overlooked by others writing about the history of Gippsland. A second appendix summarizes data of runs held in 1848 and 1850, and a third gives extracts of correspondence pertaining to these runs from files held by the Victorian Lands Department.

It is noted that a number of historical articles about East Gippsland contain unsubstantiated statements and factual errors, and it is suggested that statements should be regarded as valid only when acceptable authorities and references are available for them.

**1. Introduction**

Physiographically, East Gippsland is a continuation of south-eastern New South Wales. (Fig. 1.) The Snowy Mountains, with many ranges between 5,000 and 7,000 ft above sea level, run approximately N.-S. from Australian Capital Territory to the Cobberas Mountains area of East Gippsland. The near-coastal lowlands of East Gippsland and of south-eastern New South Wales rise abruptly, some 30 miles inland, to the Coast Range which, at 3,000 to 4,000 ft elevation, is only slightly higher than the country inland from it.

Between the Snowy Mountains and the Coast Range lie the Monaro Plains, a tract approximately 50 miles wide of undulating subalpine tableland, with a general elevation between 2,500 and 3,500 ft. In the vicinity of Cooma, the 'Dividing Range' is not recognizable to the eye in the wide expanse of tableland, so the plains extend without interruption from the Murrumbidgee River watershed to that of the Snowy River. These plains have their southern limits in the vicinity of Bendoc in East Gippsland, and, though cut off by the Snowy River valley, the Wulgulmerang Plateau too is essentially part of the same system.

The Monaro Plains were lightly forested and well grassed, and they provided a natural corridor by which grazing interests extended from the Goulburn district

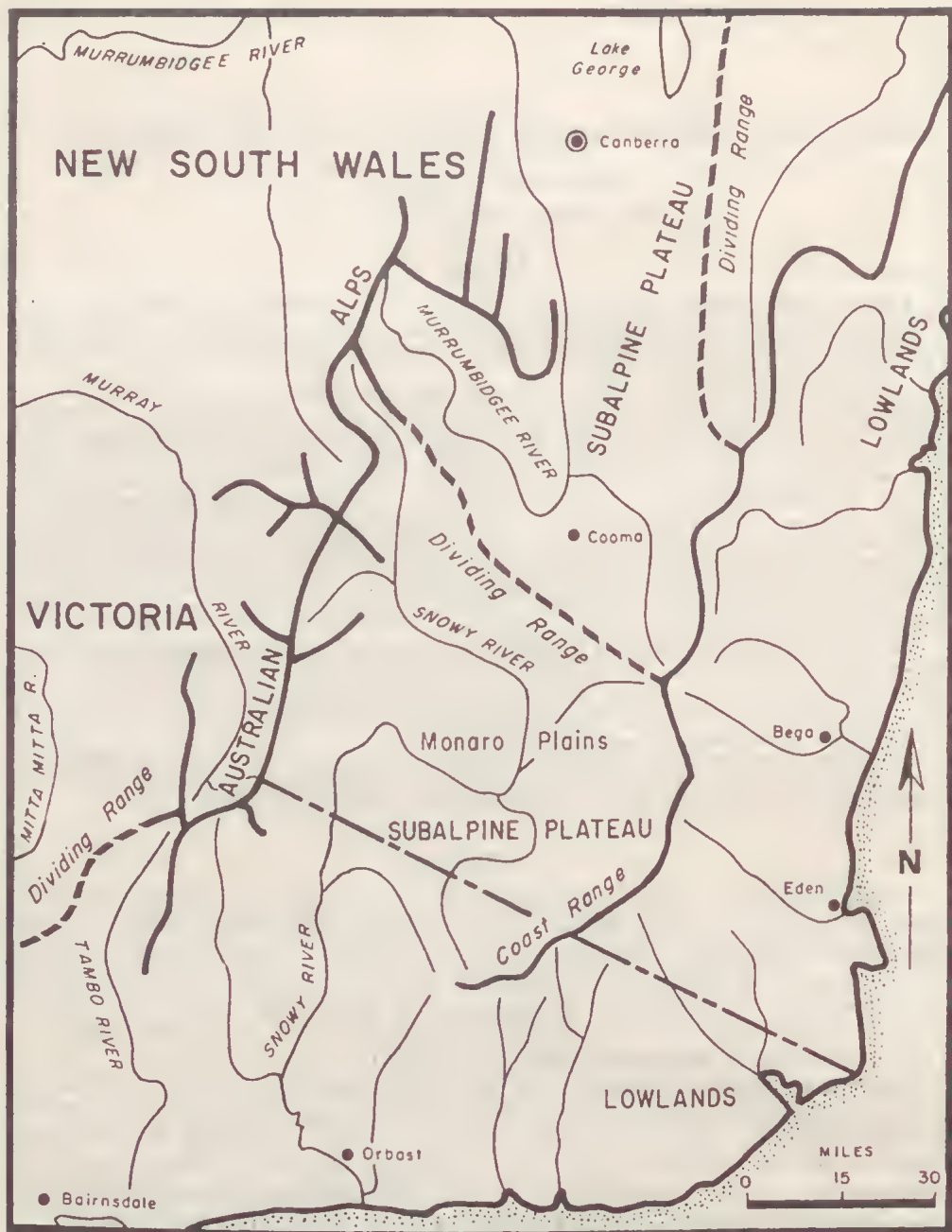


FIG. 1—Topographical relationship of East Gippsland and south-eastern New South Wales.

of N.S.W., via the Cooma district, to Gippsland. W. Odell Raymond, in a report dated 15 August 1853, described how he and others took large numbers of sheep and cattle by this route from Monaro to Gippsland in 1842 (Bride 1898, pp. 129-134).

During the preparation of the present paper it became evident that much that has been published on the history of East Gippsland is erroneous or of doubtful authenticity. This has been due to the acceptance by historians of unconfirmed reports and newspaper articles which do not cite authorities for statements, and to the incorporation of data from these sources in journals which enjoy some prestige. Material of this kind, much of which is now questioned or refuted, was used in a previous paper on the history of Gippsland (Wakfield 1951).

Historical societies were formed recently at Orbost and Bairnsdale, and secondary schools in those areas are now taking considerable interest in the early history of East Gippsland. For these reasons there is discussion in the present paper of certain newspaper articles and other trivial publications, as these sources are used by students and others endeavouring to compile historical information. It is intended that this paper should provide a basis for the evaluation of such data.

In this paper, unconfirmed reports have been discounted, though it is likely that some of these will eventually prove to be valid. The necessity for this principle is evident when it is noted, for example, that the claims of Hutton and Bayliss were for the most part untrue (Section 3(d)), that E. J. O'Rourke was in error regarding his grandfather's history (Section 4(b)), and that John Cameron's history of Maramingo contained gross error (Section 5(c)).

## 2. Coastal Exploration

### (a) JAMES COOK, 1770

Observations recorded by Captain James Cook, in connection with the sighting of the coast and mountains of East Gippsland in April 1770, are summarized, from Wolskel (1941), as follows:

6 a.m. Sighted land extending from NE to W at distance 5 or 6 leagues.

Continued standing to westward until 8 a.m., then bore away NE, being at this time in latitude of  $37^{\circ} 58' S$  and in the longitude  $210^{\circ} 39' W$ . The southernmost point of land we had in sight which bore from us W½S I judged to lay in the latitude  $38^{\circ} 0' S$  and in the longitude  $211^{\circ} 07' W$  from the Meridian of Greenwich. I named it Point Hicks, because Lieut<sup>t</sup> Hicks was the first who discovered this land.

At noon we were in Lat.  $37^{\circ} 50'$ , Long.  $210^{\circ} 29' W$ , 'the extremes of land extending from NW to ENE, a remarkable Point bore N  $20^{\circ}$  East distant 4 leagues. This point rises to a round hillock very like the *Ram Head* going into Plymouth Sound on which account I called it by the same name. Lat.  $37^{\circ} 39'$ , Long.  $210^{\circ} 22'$ .'

Magnetic variation,  $8^{\circ} 7' E$ .

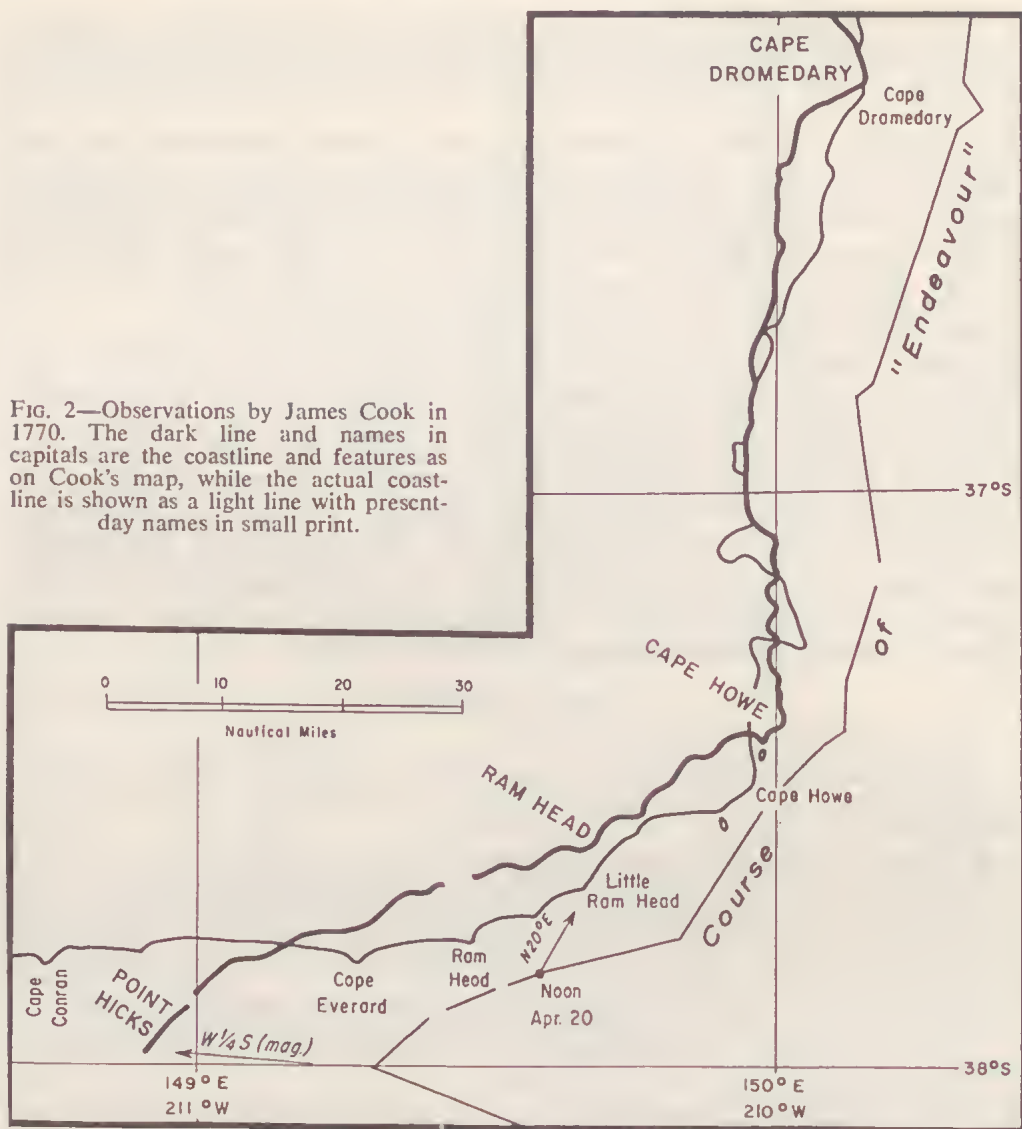
At 6 p.m. brought to for the night. Northernmost land in sight bore N by E.  $\frac{1}{2}E$ , and a small island close to a point on the main bore W, distance 2 leagues. This point, named Cape Howe, was identified by coast trending N on one side and SW on other, and also by round hills just within it.

Fig. 2 is a copy of part of one of Cook's charts of the south-eastern Australian coastline, published by the British Government in 1789 and reproduced by King (1892). The actual coastline has been superimposed.

The nautical day began at noon, when observations were made to allow the ship's position to be determined. Record was then made of compass readings and estimated speeds, so that the course for the ensuing 24 hours could be plotted. Computations and plotting were done later in the voyage, or after it.

Fowler (1907) pointed out that the date of the observations which are recorded here was actually 20 April 1770.

FIG. 2—Observations by James Cook in 1770. The dark line and names in capitals are the coastline and features as on Cook's map, while the actual coastline is shown as a light line with present-day names in small print.



From about Cape Everard to Twofold Bay, Cook's map places the coast north of its actual position by from 3' to 8' of latitude. Further north, at Cape Dromedary, the discrepancy is only slight.

The direction recorded for the observation of Point Hicks ( $W \frac{1}{4} S$ ) is a magnetic bearing of approximately  $267^\circ$ , equivalent to a true bearing of  $275^\circ$ , or  $5^\circ$  N. of W. The longitude given ( $211^\circ 07'$ ) was evidently calculated from an estimation of the distance of the point from the *Endeavour* when the observation was made.

Fowler (loc. cit.) comments: 'The position is in 50 fathoms water, and over 12 nautical miles from the nearest shore', and he concludes, 'The observation was faulty, the compass was in error, or a bank of clouds was mistaken for land.'

From the noon position of  $37^{\circ} 50'S$ .  $210^{\circ} 29'W$ . the point which Cook named Ram Head lay  $20^{\circ}$  E. of N. This appears to be a compass reading of NNE. corrected by the magnetic variation. As noted by Fowler (loc. cit.), 'the description seems to better suit the point now called Little Ram Head, which is only three miles from the position assigned by Cook, the discrepancy being about equal in amount and in the same direction as between Cook's position of Cape Howe and the present accepted position of the same'.

What is now known as Ram Head lies at  $37^{\circ} 46'S$ . and  $149^{\circ} 29'E$ ., about 12 land miles from the position given by Cook, and it is W. of N. of the noon position of the *Endeavour*.

Scott (1912) argued at length that Cape Everard and Point Hicks were the same. He contended that Cook's expression 'I judged to lay', 'clearly represented a guess, probably made when writing up the journal afterwards', and he was very critical of Fowler's suggestion that Cook could have been in error in his observations. However, the preciseness of the position which Cook gave for Point Hicks does not support the contention that this was a guess. Fowler's three alternatives, to explain Cook's location of Point Hicks, appear to be logical and comprehensive.

In considering the accuracy of Cook's records, it must be remarked that he noted that the 'northernmost land in sight' from the anchorage 2 leagues E. of Gabo Island was 'N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ E.' (Wolskel loc. cit.), which is a magnetic bearing of  $17^{\circ}$ , or a true bearing of  $25^{\circ}$ . That was certainly an erroneous observation. To identify the original 'Ram Head' with the present Little Ram Head, and to place 'Point Hicks' at or near Cape Conran, would indicate only minor discrepancies in Cook's data. But to accept that Ram Head is correctly identified today, or to identify Cape Everard as Point Hicks, would presume gross errors in Cook's records. (See Fig. 2).

#### (b) GEORGE BASS, 1797-8

Except for the final paragraph, which comprises the author's observations, this section is derived from Bass's journal, published in Bladen (1895).

On 21 December 1797, George Bass and the crew of his whaleboat 'landed at a little beach about a mile north of the Ram Head'. A south-westerly gale kept them there for ten days, the boat 'lay off at anchor in a place where, though a swell came in, no breaking-water could'. Bass explored the area and recorded these observations:

The country here is in general low, sandy, and not without lagoons, yet in figure hilly, but the hills are little else than sand; they have indeed a patched covering of green which might deceive the eye at a distance, but the usual sterility of the soil still prevails. The best I have been able to find is like what at Port Jackson is reckoned so favourable for potatoes, which is a mixture of sand with a very small proportion of vegetable earth.

The general productions are short deformed gum-trees, tea-tree, some small shrubs, and patches of an almost impenetrable underwood of small brush, ground fern, and vines. The foliage of the underwood is rich and green, but the trees are far more dusky and brown than I have seen anywhere else. A luxuriant crop of grass may occasionally be found in places where the underwood has thinned off, but the soil is still the same. Where thick grass belly-high and fern plants are growing together one might expect better soil, but it is only a black sand like the rest.

It is but very few miles that I have been able to penetrate into this close country, but by the sand patches, which when I ascended the Ram Head I could distinctly see peeping out of the sides of the black hills, I can conclude no otherwise than that the soil to a great distance inland is equally poor as, if not worse than, that which I have already trodden over.

There are here many little runs of excellent water that, draining out of the sandhills, trickle over the rocky spots at their feet or sink through the beaches into the sea.

The journey was resumed on 31 December, and for 'about 30 miles' Bass noted:

The land all the way . . . nearly the same height as about Ram Head—in front, long beaches at the bottom of bights of no great depth, lying between low rocky projecting points—there might be about three of these in the whole distance; in the back land lay some short ridges of lumpy irregular hills at a little distance from the sea.

On 1 January 1798 the craft travelled about 30 to 36 miles along the Ninety Mile Beach, which Bass described thus:

The land in the whole of this distance was nothing but low beach—a very small hummock appeared indeed every now and then inland. There were many large smokes behind the beach, as we conjectured by the sides of lagoons, of which there was reason to believe the back country was full.

Later, Bass mentioned 'what is called Point Hicks, a point we could not at all distinguish from the rest of the beach'.

What Bass identified as Ram Head is the feature which has that name today. The whaleboat anchorage is a tiny sheltered cove at the westernmost end of the sand bar which separates Wingan Inlet from the ocean; it is protected on the seaward side by a little rocky peninsula. Much of the 'underwood' that Bass encountered was Lilly-pilly (*Eugenia smithii*) which in the vicinity of Ram Head forms extensive wind-pruned thickets only a few feet high. The main vine was Austral Sarsaparilla (*Smilax australis*).

### 3. Land Exploration

#### (a) CURRIE AND OVENS, 1823

The Monaro Plains of south-eastern New South Wales were discovered in mid-1823, by Captain Mark Currie, R.N. He set out southerly from Lake George, in company with Brigade-Major Ovens. On 6 June, they turned back, having reached a point a few miles from the present site of Cooma. Currie named the area 'Brisbane Downs' and noted that it was called 'Manaroo' by the natives. (Currie 1825). The party crossed the Umaralla River, which Currie's map identified as the Murrumbidgee.

#### (b) GEORGE MCKILLOP, 1835

Following the discovery by Currie and Ovens, cattle runs were established over much of Monaro during the 1820's and 1830's. The Twofold Bay area was occupied during the same period.

Lhotsky (1834) reported making an excursion from Matong (a station near Dalgety, Monaro) to the Australian Alps, where, on 6 March, he ascended a mountain 'from 5 to 7,000 feet' high and from which, he claimed, he 'discovered towards the SSW a very extensive plain, called by the natives Omeo'. The bearing given suggests that Lhotsky did not actually sight the Omeo Plain. It is more likely that he positioned the plain from the report of the aborigine who told him that 'it contained a lake, bigger than Lake George'.

In 1835, George McKillop and party explored south-westerly from Monaro to the Omeo area. His party 'ascended the sea-side range' at the sources of the Mitta Mitta, and 'saw the sea at a distance of 25 to 35 miles, a low scrubby forest intervening'. These details are summarized from Greig (1912) who cited as his authority 'a paper which (McKillop) sent to the *Edinburgh Journal of Agriculture* in February 1836 (and which was published in Vol. VII; pp. 156-169)'.

McKillop's report stated further that, since his visit, cattle had been sent to

Omeo from Monaro. Bonwick (1883, p. 488) stated that Macfarlane and Livingstone were members of McKillop's party, and that 'Livingstone afterwards formed a station upon the river called after him'. This evidently refers to Livingstone Creek, Omeo, but Angus McMillan's letter (Bonwick, loc. cit.) makes it clear that it was Macfarlane who sent cattle to Omeo from Monaro. (See also Section 3(c) and licence for 11 September 1839 in Appendix 1.) Hansford (1927) added to Bonwick's error by stating that all three—McKillop, Livingstone and Macfarlane—'settled in the Omeo area'.

#### (c) ANGUS McMILLAN, 1839

McMillan and his aboriginal guide, Jemmy Gibber, left Macfarlane's Currawong station on 28 May 1839, and travelled to Tubbut, an outstation of Moore's establishment at Burnima (see Fig. 3 and Appendix 3). They went on, evidently by way of the Deddick River, to cross the Snowy River next day. On 30 May they travelled an estimated 16 miles SSW., through 'fine open country', and on 31 May for a further 15 miles SSW. amongst 'high steep ranges'. On 1 June the distance was eight miles over steep broken country with dense scrub; and on 2 June a more westerly course was taken for seven miles 'over a fearful country'. Next day McMillan ascended a feature which he later referred to as Mount Macleod. On 4 June he travelled six miles NW. to 'a stream running into the Snowy', and thereafter proceeded northerly and reached the Omeo road on 9 June. He followed the road westerly and reached Omeo on 11 June. He found three settlers at Omeo: Macfarlane, Pendergast and Hyland. (These details are from Shillinglaw (1874), who quoted McMillan's diary records at length.)

McMillan's 'fine open country' of 30 May would have been the Wulgulmerang area, and on 31 May the route would have been through what is now Gelantipy. If the compass bearings which he noted in his diary are correct, they would not have taken him to the present Mount McLeod, which lies due S. of the Wulgulmerang area.

#### (d) CLAIMS BY HUTTON AND BAYLISS

McMillan stated, in a letter dated 8 February 1856 and quoted by Bonwick (1883, p. 494) that 'there was a station formed by Mr. R. Wilkinson at Buchan in April 1839' and that 'Buchan was first discovered by Mr. Baylop (sic) in the beginning of the year 1839'.

Skene and Smyth (1874) recorded the following story, given to Alfred W. Howitt, Police Magistrate of Gippsland, by Andrew Hutton, on 17 February 1874:

Andrew Hutton travelled in 1838 from Nungatta on the Genoa River to the entrance of the lakes with 500 head of cattle and five men. They travelled along the coast, crossing the mouth of the Snowy River. They stayed at the entrance about a week, the natives hunting the party all the time, and finally driving them away and killing the cattle. Wilkinson took up Buchan with 100 head of cattle immediately before McMillan came down. About the same time McIntyre took up Gelantipy, also before McMillan arrived. When Hutton was hunted away from the entrance, at the time of his first arrival, he found the wreck of the schooner *Shaw*, trading from Sydney to Hobart Town. He buried four or five of the sailors. This was near the Wingan River.

Shillinglaw (loc. cit.) outlined McMillan's and Strzelecki's exploratory work. He quoted the report which Hutton had given Howitt, but with the comment, 'So much for the claims of Andrew Hutton'. A week later, Edward Bayliss replied with a letter (Bayliss 1874) containing the following statements:

I was the first person who opened up that district, in the month of October, 1838. I started from Aston, Maneroo, . . . made my way to the Ninety Mile Beach, and camped on what is now Ewing's Swamp on the 1st day of November. On the Sunday morning, the 2nd, I walked over the entrance of the lakes, at Jemmy's Point, as it is now named. I . . . returned to Buchan, marked out that as a temporary station, and returned to Maneroo, . . . In February, 1839, I again started for Gippsland, with 715 head of cattle, two drays, and eight men, for building, fencing, etc. I found Wilkinson a day ahead of me, with a few of Mr. F. Mouatt's cattle. I therefore took up Callantipy, and formed that station in March, 1839, and long before M'Millan left Maneroo. My old stockman, E. Bath, was induced to leave me by an offer of higher wages from M'Millan, and that man and my blackfellow, Jemmy Gibbie, showed them the way down several months later. Now for Andrew Hutton's statement. This man . . . was engaged by me in January 1830 (sic) to go down with the cattle and take charge of them when there. However, the engagement was not matured, but I heard that an attempt had been made to take cattle down the coast in 1839 . . . In my muster at Callantipy, in July, I recovered 19 bullocks for them, and sent them into Maneroo.

Greig (loc. cit.), on the authority of 'rev. Geo. Cox (from recollections of Mr. Chas Lucas)', added these details to the Hutton story:

Hutton was employed by Morris, owner of Nungatta Station, and accompanied him in three successive years, on exploratory trips to the south-west. On the first two, progress was blocked by the Snowy River, and on the third they took 500 cattle to the Gippsland Lakes. A man named Wood had gone ahead by boat to Shallow Inlet, with supplies, but returned after waiting there for six weeks.

In connection with the Hutton story, the present author makes these comments:

(i) Wm. M. Morris, resident in the Moruya area, was extending his interests from Moruya to Genoa up until 1840 (see Appendix 1).

(ii) The mouth and estuary of the Snowy River were deep and were navigated by coastal trading vessels until 50 years ago. It is highly improbable that cattle could have been crossed there, and it is even more improbable that a pastoralist would have attempted to take cattle into unexplored country. (Shallow Inlet is 150 miles westerly from the Snowy River.)

(iii) The schooner *Schah* was wrecked, with loss of life, two miles east of Ram Head, on the night of 20 December 1837. After covering two of the dead, A. W. Milligan, the first officer, and the survivors set out overland for Twofold Bay, which they reached on 29 December. (Milligan, 1838). Milligan's report does not mention Hutton's party.

(iv) Taylor (1866) made no mention of the Hutton expeditions (Section 4(c)).

Apart from the improbability of much of Bayliss's story, there are these specific points:

(i) In 1838, 2 November was a Friday.

(ii) Ewing's Morass is east of Lake Tyers and, at its nearest point, is at least four miles from the original entrance of the Gippsland Lakes and over nine miles from Jemmy's Point.

(iii) Wilkinson held Buchan in his own right until 1842, when Mowatt acquired it. (see Appendix 1.)

(iv) Gibber was McMillan's sole companion on the excursion to the Buchan area in 1839 (see Section 3(c)), and Edward Bath accompanied him into central Gippsland in 1840 (Bonwick loc. cit.).

(v) Bayliss's timing would place Hutton's supposed Gippsland Lakes expedition more than a year later than the wreck of the *Schah*.

McMillan made no mention, in the reports of his 1839 excursion through the Gelantipy and Buchan areas, of any sign of cattle there. If his information to Bonwick (loc. cit.) was based on claims made by Bayliss, then it is highly suspect.

If the location of the run obtained by Bayliss in September 1839 were determined (see Appendix 1), it might throw light on this matter.

On data available during this study, it would appear that, while Bayliss may have discovered Buchan sometime in 1839, the later claims of both Bayliss and Hutton to penetration with cattle to the Gippsland Lakes area in 1839 or before are untrue.

#### 4. Settlement in Snowy River District

##### (a) EARLY RUNS

None of the three settlers whom McMillan reported to be at Omeo in June 1839 (Section 3(c)) did, in fact, have his home there. Macfarlane resided at Inverlochy, near Goulburn, and his 1839 licence was for 'Currawong and Omeo' (Appendix 1). In 1854 the buildings on his Omeo run were still only huts (Appendix 3). Evidently, Pendergast and Hyland both regarded their use of the Omeo area as auxiliary to main interests in N.S.W., for neither mentioned Omeo in connection with their early licences (Appendix 1).

Tubbut was an auxiliary of Moore's run at Burnima, N.S.W., from about late 1838 to 1852, when Whitakers acquired it to establish a family home there (Appendix 3). Campbell's 1839 licence included Delegate, and this run probably extended into East Gippsland at that time (Appendices 1 and 2). Wilkinson's licence for Buchan in January 1840, and Hensleigh's for Bendock in June 1842 (Appendix 1), were the first to be obtained for runs in the Snowy River district of East Gippsland. Gclantipy was evidently used by Hughes and McIntyre of Gunningrath, N.S.W., from about 1843 onward (Appendix 3).



Buchan (A. W. Howitt, 1876.)

## (b) SUGGAN BUGGAN AND WULGULMERANG

Due apparently to misinterpretation of statements in letters in Lands Department files (Appendix 3) and to incorrect data on a gravestone, an erroneous history has come to be accepted concerning early settlement in the Suggan Buggan and Wulgulmerang areas.

For example, a newspaper article stated that Edward O'Rourke settled at Suggan Buggan in 1838, and his brothers, James and Christopher, settled at Black Mountain and Wulgulmerang ('N.B.' 1948). Edward was, in fact, a son of James, and in 1838 he was about nine years old (this section, below). James O'Rourke's statement in 1848, that he had been a licensed payee in the District of Monaro for ten years (Appendix 3), referred mainly to his licence for Countegany, near Cooma (Appendix 1).

In another newspaper article, E. J. O'Rourke, son of Edward, stated that James O'Rourke moved to Black Mountain in 1840, where he resided for some time before shifting to Wulgulmerang. He stated further that Black Mountain had been occupied previously by Richard Brooks and that 'Hugden' occupied Suggan Buggan before Woodhouse. (O'Rourke, 1936). The first statement is contradicted by James O'Rourke's information to J. J. Hedley (Appendix 3); no depasturing licence was found in the name of Hugden; and the only indication that was found of an interest by Richard Brooks in this district was his tenancy of the Willis run in 1848 (Appendix 2).

Edward O'Rourke's statement, dated 13 April 1868, that his improvements had been at Suggan Buggan for 20 years (Appendix 3), would have referred to the 'Forest Paddock' on the Wulgulmerang Plateau, which, though not in the Suggan Buggan valley, was included in O'Rourke's Suggan Buggan run (see this section, below).

The first licence for Suggan Buggan, that for the year 1842-43, was issued to William Woodhouse in April 1843 (Appendix 1), and Victorian Lands Department records (Appendix 3) show that it passed through the hands of Kesterton and McGuffie before Edward O'Rourke first obtained it in January 1858. Additional details have been provided by the General Drafting Branch, Department of Lands, Sydney (letter, 1 August 1961), as follows:

Licence . . . held by William Woodhouse between 1842 and 1845; in 1845 . . . by Benjamin Boyd. In 1849 the lease was transferred to William Sprott Boyd. It was subsequently acquired by Samuel Browning and transferred by him to Alexander Campbell in 1851. In 1852 it was transferred to John Henry Challis.

Information regarding early settlement in the Wulgulmerang area was obtained from F. Smyth and K. Daniel (pers. comm. 1967), grand-daughters of David O'Rourke, Jnr., a son of Christopher O'Rourke, Snr. This is the authority for statements in the remainder of this section relating to O'Rourke family history.

James O'Rourke's home was at Wulgulmerang from about early 1845 until 1852 (Appendix 3), after which he removed to the Yarram area of South Gippsland.

Christopher O'Rourke, Snr., younger brother of James, made his home at Black Mountain, on the north side of the Little River, also about early 1845, when his second son, David, was two years old. He died in 1854, aged 44. (The stone on his grave at Black Mountain was made in Bairnsdale with year and age incorrectly inscribed as 1844 and 54 respectively.) At the time of Christopher's death, his sons, John and David, were aged about 14 and 12 years respectively.

Edward, eldest son of James O'Rourke, returned to the district and managed

the Little River run for a number of years before acquiring the Suggan Buggan run in January 1858.

Christopher, Jnr., second son of James O'Rourke, acquired Wulgulmerang in February 1859 (Appendix 3) and made his home there. (Letters in the Wulgulmerang file, Lands Department, Melbourne, incorrectly refer to John and Christopher, Jnr., as brothers.)

In August 1859, John O'Rourke was granted Little River as a new run (Appendix 3). It had been occupied without licence for the 14 years prior to that date. He resided there until 1868, when he removed to the Wulgulmerang run, from which he retired to Bairnsdale in 1909. (Little River run later became known as Black Mountain.)

Edward O'Rourke removed from Suggan Buggan to Benambra in about 1884 but continued to run cattle on Suggan Buggan. He died at the 'Forest Paddock' of the Suggan Buggan run, in 1902, aged 73, and was buried at Black Mountain.

There was also a David O'Rourke, Snr., brother of James, who lived in the Wulgulmerang area for some time. He died at Appin, N.S.W., in 1855.

David O'Rourke, Jnr., had a house on part of the Wulgulmerang run until 1867, when he removed it to the south side of the Little River at Black Mountain, where he resided until 1879, when he removed to Buchan.

The brothers James and Christopher O'Rourke, coming to the Wulgulmerang area in about early 1845, were the first settlers to establish permanent family homes in the Snowy River area of East Gippsland.

#### (c) ORBOST AREA

Cameron (1926) stated that Peter Imlay occupied Orbost with 800 head of cattle from Monaro but abandoned the locality after trouble with the blacks, and that N. and J. Macleod succeeded him there.

An anonymous historical article, in a booklet printed in Orbost in 1937, stated:

As far as can be gathered the first settlement in the Orbost District took place in 1842 when Mr. Peter Imlay brought cattle from New South Wales and settled on the eastern side of the Snowy River where the Orbost township now stands. Peter left Monaro with 800 head of cattle and travelled down Cann Valley and crossed the Lower Bemm.

Neither Cameron nor this anonymous writer substantiated their statements in any way.

The depasturing licences in the name of Peter Imlay in the early 1840's were for Bega and Walumla (Appendix 1), and no evidence was found that he had interests at any time in the Snowy River area.

Norman Taylor, after spending several months in close association with the pioneers of the Genoa district, stated that 'no one has ever been across from the Cann to the Snowy River, except along the coast, and the party that did that lost all their horses, and were all but starved'. (Taylor loc. cit.) He made no mention of cattle being taken to the lower Snowy River or beyond.

Norman and John Macleod, who held the first licences for runs in the Orbost area (Newmerella and Orbost, respectively) each stated that the date from which he had held the licence was 1 July 1847 (Appendix 3). This does not necessarily mean that they occupied these runs on that date. Depasturing licences were issued for the whole of the financial year and dated as from 1 July, irrespective of the actual date of occupation of a run.

The anonymous historical article mentioned above (printed Orbost, 1937) stated further:

From official files it is found that in 1845 Grazing Area No. 34 Orbost was held by Arch Macleod and carried 800 cattle. At the same time Grazing Area No. 33, 16,000 acres at Newmerella or Lochend, was held by the same people and carried 500 cattle and 2,000 sheep.

The numbers 33 and 34 are those allotted to these runs in the N.S.W. *Government Gazette* of 13 September 1848. The date '1845' is evidently a mistake for 1848, and the 'Arch Macleod' is an error also (See data in Appendixes 2 and 3). Furthermore, the numbers of cattle and sheep given here were merely those noted in the *Gazette* under the heading 'estimated capacity', not actual stock on the respective runs.

## 5. Settlement in Genoa River District

### (a) WANGRABELLE

The first depasturing licence for an East Gippsland run was that for Wangrabelle, issued to John Stevenson in November 1839 (Appendix 1). Stevenson retained this run for at least 11 years (Appendix 3).

Details of stations and residents in the Genoa River district are given in a book by an ex-convict, Joseph Lingard, who travelled through the area in about August 1842. At that time, a family named Donald was in residence at Wangrabelle. (Lingard, date unknown.)

### (b) GENOA

Wm. F. Morris held Nungatta and Genoa for the year 1840-41 (Appendix 1), and Greig (loc. cit.) stated that Morris sold to 'Abercrombie'. However, no depasturing licence was found either in the name of Morris or Abercrombie for the period 1842 to 1846.

A map prepared by F. P. MacCabe in February 1847 (now held by Lands Department, Melbourne) shows two paddocks on the south side of the river about where Genoa is now located, labelled 'Campbell's Cattle Station'. A depasturing licence was issued to Campbell and Co. on 25 September 1846, which, though specifying Gundary only, presumably covered Nungatta and Genoa as well (See Appendix 1, licence for 14 August 1840).

### (c) MARAMINGO

Cameron (loc. cit.) set out details about Maramingo: Taken up by Robert Greig about 1841, sold to T. Doyle, sold to A. Weatherhead in 1847, sold to J. Allan in 1850-51 when Weatherhead bought Nungatta.

The present investigation has not ascertained whether Maramingo was in fact the identity of 'Mirimalka' (or 'Mirunalka'), a licence for which was issued to Robert Greig in January 1841 (Appendix 1). No record was found of a depasturing licence held by Greig between 1841 and 1846, and neither Maramingo nor 'Mirimalka' was amongst the runs listed in the N.S.W. *Government Gazette* of 1848 or 1850.

Lingard (loc. cit.) found 'a station on each side of the river' at Genoa in about August 1842, and MacCabe's Genoa River map of February 1847 has 'Js. Allan's House' and 'Shannon's Cattle Station hereabouts' marked in the Maramingo area, directly across the river from the Genoa paddocks. Taylor (loc. cit.) referred to Allan's home at the same place. Campbell's reference to Genoa having 'no neighbours' (Appendix 3) appears to have been erroneous.

Cameron was in error in some details. Maramingo was applied for by

Weatherhead in April 1853 (Appendix 3), and Weatherhead (1891) indicated that he bought and occupied Nungatta in 1859. (However, Weatherhead lived at Nungatta as overseer during an earlier period; he was there when Lingard visited the area in 1842.)

(d) MALLACOOTA

Greig (loc. cit.) made two statements about the settlement of Mallacoota. The first quoted letters in the Melbourne newspaper, *The Argus* (25 May and 28 May 1909) which said that Mallacoota 'was settled previous to the Messrs. Henty Brothers' arrival at Portland towards the close of 1834', and that 'the settler's name was Stevenson—an ex-ship master—and his homestead was at what is still known locally as Captain's Point'. The second stated that 'the year 1842 saw the location, at Mallacoota Inlet . . . of an ex-whaler named John Stevenson, who had been in the employ of Benjamin Boyd, of Twofold Bay'. For this second statement, Greig gave as authority 'Mr. J. M. Reid, to whom it was communicated by Mr. Wm. Allan, grandson of Captain Stevenson'.

Cameron (loc. cit.) stated that Stevenson arrived at Twofold Bay in 1836 in the *Brig Horn*, a Greenland whaler, with Robert Greig as First Mate.

Benjamin Boyd arrived in Australia on 18 July 1842 and resided in Sydney. He made only infrequent visits to Twofold Bay, and the whaling operations carried on there in his name were from 1843 to 1848. (Wellings, date unknown.)

Lingard (loc. cit.) indicates that, in about July 1842, he met Stevenson, who 'had formed a station near Cape Howe', and 'he and his family had been there about three months'. The station was later identified as Mallacoota. Lingard travelled from Bondi to Mallacoota where he stayed until the late spring of 1842. Living in 'two huts made with bark and covered with bark, . . . close to the beach', were the Stevenson family and a second family. This settlement was later abandoned, for MacCabe's map bears the inscription 'An abandoned Cattle Station' at the site of Mallacoota.

Stevenson's huts would have been those mentioned by S. C. Johnson as having been occupied by William Baird (Appendix 3). Billis and Kenyon (1932) stated that Baird was at Mallacoota from 1850 to 1854.

### Summary

James Cook's recorded observations of the East Gippsland coast on 20 April 1770 do not justify the identification of his 'Point Hicks' with Cape Everard, and his 'Ram Head' appears to be the feature now called Little Ram Head. George Bass's journal of December 1797 records observations of vegetation and soil about Wingan Inlet, and, while he identified the present Ram Head as Cook's Ram Head, Bass failed to distinguish any feature as Point Hicks.

In 1823, Currie and Ovens discovered the Monaro district, and by 1840 cattle were depastured across these plains and into parts of East Gippsland. James Macfarlane sent cattle to Omeo soon after its discovery by George McKillop in July 1835. Tubbut was in use as an out-station of Thomas Moore's Burnima run in early 1839, when Angus McMillan penetrated the Buchan area; John Wilkinson obtained a licence for the Buchan run in January 1840; John Hensleigh obtained a licence for the Bendock run in June 1842; and Hughes and McIntyre used Gelantipy from about 1843 onward, as an out-station of their run at Gunninggrach, N.S.W.

The first grazing licence for the Suggan Buggan run was taken out in April 1843 by William Woodhouse, and this run changed hands several times before

Edward O'Rourke obtained it in January 1858 and established a home there. The brothers James and Christopher O'Rourke were the first permanent settlers in the Snowy River area of East Gippsland; they established family homes at Wulgulmerang and Black Mountain in about early 1845. Christopher died in 1854, not 1844 as his gravestone indicates. The first grazing licences for the Newmerella and Orbost runs were those obtained by Norman and John Macleod sometime between July 1847 and May 1848.

In the Genoa River valley, John Stevenson obtained a licence for the Wangarabell run in November 1839, and Genoa was used as an out-station of William Morris's Nungatta run in 1840. John Stevenson settled with his family at Malla-coota early in 1842 but had abandoned the site by February 1847. Maramingo was occupied prior to August 1842 but its early history is obscure.

Neither the claims that Andrew Hutton took cattle from Nungatta to the Gippsland Lakes in the late 1830's, nor the statement that Peter Inlay took cattle via the Cann River valley to Orbost in the early 1840's, is accepted as valid; and the claim that Edward Bayliss reached Buchan before Angus McMillan did is considered to be dubious.

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## APPENDIX 1

## Depasturing Licences, 1837 to 1846

Copies of depasturing licences issued from 1837 to 1846 are preserved in the New South Wales State Archives. They are bound, in chronological order, in 18 volumes. The first volume contains those for the year 1837-38. There is no record of any licences for 1838-39, and the set for 1840-41 may be incomplete. The last licences in the bound volumes are for the year 1845-46. Each volume containing licences issued between 1837 and 1844 contains an index of the licensees, but the several volumes of licences for 1845-46 are not indexed. Each licence was issued for a single financial year (ending 30 June) and the annual fee for each was £10.

Further information is contained in a letter received from the General Drafting Branch, Department of Lands, New South Wales, in August 1961, as follows:

Although there was settlement in the Monaro district in the 1820's and 1830's, no official record exists until the Depasturing Licences of 1837 were issued. These licences gave no description of the location of runs and very often no run name. Licensees were required to indicate the situation of their holding within a particular district and it is under this heading that the run name, if any, is given.

Search was made through the indexes of the earlier volumes of the depasturing licences and data extracted about certain licensees, and all Monaro district licences for the year 1845-46 were perused. This method of search may have overlooked some relevant data of licences which changed hands between 1837 and 1845.

In many cases the place of residence of the licensee indicated that he did not live on the run for which the licence was issued. Furthermore, licences were sometimes held for short periods (possibly under some form of mortgage) by certain companies, and in these cases there is no indication of who actually occupied or used the runs concerned.

Billis and Kenyon (loc. cit.) published data of pastoral leases and lessees in the Port Phillip District (= Victoria). Their compilation was based almost wholly on records in the Victorian Department of Lands, Melbourne, and it lacks much relevant information that is available in the New South Wales State Archives.

Following are dates of issue and other data of licences which concern, directly or indirectly, the early history of East Gippsland:

- 21 February 1837. 'Snowey River'. Edward W. Bayliss of 'Snowey River'. (See also 24 September 1839.)
- 7 March 1837. Bergalia. Wm. F. Morris of Moruya. (This is Morris's only licence for this year. See also 1 November 1839 and 16 September 1839.)
- 11 March 1837. Monaro, location unspecified. Robert Campbell. (Same data 29 May 1838. Both licences probably apply to Mount Cooper only. See also 12 July 1839.)
- 3 August 1837. Monaro, location unspecified. Francis Mowatt of Narellan. (This may apply to Bollero. See 12 July 1842.)
- 15 February 1838. Appin. James O'Rourke. (This is his only licence for this year. See also 1 October 1839.)
- 8 June 1838. Monaro, location unspecified. John Pendergast of 'Monaro'. (See also 9 November 1839.)
- 19 June 1838. Monaro, location unspecified. Alexander Livingstone of 'Monaro'.

- 30 June 1838. Monaro, location unspecified. James Macfarlane of 'Inverlochy', Goulburn. (See also 10 September 1839.)
- 11 July 1839. Burnima. Thomas M. Morre. (His first licence.)
- 12 July 1839. Mount Cooper and Delegate. Robert Campbell. (See also 30 June 1840.)
- 20 July 1839. 'Boro Creek, Mowenbar' (= Moonbah). Thomas Hyland. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 10 September 1839. 'Currawong and Omeo'. James Macfarlane of Inverlochy. (Same data, 1840-1843.)
- 13 September 1839. 'Biggah' (= Bega). Peter Imlay of 'Biggah'.
- 24 September 1839. 'Aston, near Mount Delegate'. Edward Lord of Sydney (Mortgager?).
- 24 September 1839. 'Beyangus' (?spelling). Edward W. Bayliss of Aston.
- 1 October 1839. Countegany. James O'Rourke of Countegany. (Same data for subsequent years. See also 23 September 1845.)
- 1 November 1839. Bergalia. John Hawdon of St. Vincent.
- 9 November 1839. Cottage Creek. John Pendergast of Cottage Creek. (Same data annually until 1842-43, except that residence was at Campbelltown in 1840-41.)
- 16 November 1839. Gundary and Nungatta. Wm. F. Morris of Gundary. (See also 14 August 1840.)
- 16 November 1839. Wangarabell. John Stevenson, of Twofold Bay. (Same data for 1841-42, except that no residence was stated. No licence recorded for Stevenson thereafter.)
- 30 January 1840. Buchan. John R. Wilkinson, giving residence as Buchan. (Same data up to year 1841-42 but with 'Murrindale' included in the last.)
- 29 June 1840. 'Guni-grali' (= Gunningrach). John Terry Hughes and John McIntyre of 'Guni-grali'.
- 30 June 1840. Delegate. Robert Campbell. (Mount Cooper not included. Same data for subsequent years.)
- 14 August 1840. Gundary, Nungatta, Genoa. Wm. F. Morris of 'Gundary on the Moruya'. (No subsequent licence in name of Morris.)
- 29 September 1840. 'Walamba' (= Walumla). Peter Imlay. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 1 January 1841. 'Mirimalka' (?Maramingo). Robert Greig of 'Biggah' (= Bega). (No further licence in name of Greig or for 'Mirimalka'.)
- 29 February 1841. Bondi. Thomas Luscombe. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 28 September 1841. Delegate. George Simpson. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 27 June 1842. Bendock. John S. Hensleigh. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 12 July 1842. Bollero and Buchan. Francis Mowatt of England. (Same data for two following years. See also 25 September 1845.)
- 29 September 1842. Craigie. Charles Lawson. (Same data for subsequent years.)
- 3 April 1843. Suggan Buggan. William Woodhouse of 'Snowy River'.
- 28 September 1844. Countegany. John Hawdon. (But see 23 September and 30 September 1845.)
- 23 September 1845. Countegany. James O'Rourke. (But see 30 September 1845.)
- 25 September 1845. Gundary. Campbell and Co.
- 25 September 1845. Buchan. Francis Mowatt.
- 25 September 1845. Willis. Francis Mowatt.
- 26 September 1845. Ingebyra. William Woodhouse. (His only licence for this year.)
- 30 September 1845. Countegany. John Hawdon. (But see also 23 September 1845.)
- 6 November 1845. Suggan Buggan. Benjamin Boyd.
- 20 November 1845. Jingalalla. Peter Taylor.

## APPENDIX 2

### Summary of Runs, 1848 and 1850

In the N.S.W. *Government Gazette* of 13 September 1848 there was a summary of pastoral leases, giving name of lessee, name of run, and description of boundaries. A supplementary list appeared in the N.S.W. *Government Gazette* of 6 April 1850. The boundaries were not surveyed, and the descriptions of them, in the *Gazettes* were simply quotes of details submitted by lessees with their applications for grazing rights. Fig. 3 shows the location of runs in East Gippsland at about that time, and some runs in adjoining regions.



FIG. 3—Location of runs in East Gippsland and some runs in adjoining regions, as in 1850. In each case the headquarters of the run was about where the centre of the name falls.

This appendix sets out data of runs, extracted from the *Gazettes*. The names of the runs (with modernized spelling)\* are placed in alphabetical order, followed by the lessee in each case, then, in parenthesis, there is information about location or boundaries. The items in brackets are observations by the present author. Unless otherwise stated, the run was listed in the N.S.W. *Government Gazette* of September 1848.

- BENDOCK.** J. S. Hensleigh. (Between Campbell's Delegate run, Delegate Hill, Bendock River, and a NS. range to the east.)
- BONDI.** Benjamin Boyd. (Bounded on S. by 'Black Mountain or Coorambocombala'.) [This is the present Coorambocombala Mountain in East Gippsland.]
- BUCHAN.** Archibald Macleod. (Snowy River on E., Boggy Creek on S., Wilkinson River on W., 'Black Mountains' on N.)
- CRAIGIE.** Charles Lawson. (A small portion extended into East Gippsland along the lower Bendock River.)
- DELEGATE.** Estate of late Robert Campbell. (One section, between Hayden's Bog and Mount Delegate, lay within East Gippsland.) ['Mr. Boyd's cattle station hut known as Kirkenong', is mentioned.]
- DELEGATE.** George Simpson. (Between Delegate Hill, Campbell's Delegate run, and Hensleigh's Bendock run.)
- GELANTIPY.** Hughes and McIntyre. (*Gazette* 1850.) (Watered by a creek known as Butchers Creek; Snowy River on E., range on S. dividing it from Mr. Scott's Buchan run, gully four miles from 'Wongollamerang' run on N.) [The 'gully' is Boundary Creek.]
- GENOA.** Wm. Campbell and Co. (*Gazette* 1850.) ('on a river of that name in a wild country, no neighbours'.)
- JINGALALLA.** Charles Lawson. (Between Moore's 'Tubbut' run and McLaughlin's run, with a swamp on S.) ['McLaughlin's run', is evidently Dellicknora, and Jingalalla is now named Cabanandra. (see Fig. 3).]

\* It will be noted that in the early settlement of East Gippsland (as even today) the spelling of place names was not standard. (Ed.)

[KIRKENONG, LITTLE RIVER, MALLACOOTA . . . not in either *Gazette*.]

NEWMERELLA or LOCHEND. Norman R. Macleod. (Snowy River on E., barren heathy ridges parallel with the Ninety Mile Beach on S., dense scrub running parallel to the Snowy River on W., black range known as the Haystack Mountain on N.) [The 'Haystack Mountain' is probably Mount Tara, 15 miles WNW. of Orbost, not Mount Macleod near Buchan which is sometimes referred to as the Haystack.]

ORBOST. John Macleod. (Brodrigg River on E., Snowy River on S. and W., ranges about 15 miles below the Buchan River Junction on N.)

QUEENSBOROUGH. Benjamin Boyd. ('Nicholson's Bog' on E., Little River on W., Bendock River on N.) ['Nicholson's Bog' is evidently Craigie Bog.]

SUGGAN BUGGAN. Benjamin Boyd. (Ranges towards the 'Snow Mountains' on E., Black Mountain on S., 'Omeo Ranges' on W. and N.) ['Snow Mountain' is probably a mistake for Snowy River.]

[TUBBUTT, WANGARABELL . . . not in either *Gazette*.]

Persons more or less concerned in the history of East Gippsland were listed in the *Gazette* 1848 as having these runs:

Peter Imlay. Cobargo, Murrah and Double Creek (all in the Bega-Narooma area).

Francis Mowatt. Bolero (near Cooma).

John Pendergast. Cottage Creek (near Cooma), Moonbah (south of Jindabyne), and 'Homeo' (= Omeo).

William Whittakers. Tombong.

### APPENDIX 3

#### Files in the Department of Lands, Melbourne

Further to data noted in Appendixes 1 and 2, the following details were extracted from files of correspondence held by the Victorian Department of Lands.

In 1847, run holders were requested to make formal application for leases, and on these there was usually a standard statement that the run had been occupied 'for 12 months previously', but this does not necessarily indicate the date of original occupancy.

BUCHAN. 31 December 1847. Applied for by Archibald Macleod of Bairnsdale.

GELANTIPPY. 11 August 1848. John McIntyre stated that the station had been in the possession of Messrs. Hughes and McIntyre for 5 years and was included in the licence for Gunninggrach, N.S.W. The description mentioned the 'Galantiby Hut', showing that the run was merely an outstation in 1848.

GENOA. 18 July 1853. Peter Imlay, as holder of the Genoa run, applied for its transfer to Robert Alexander.

LITTLE RIVER. 19 March 1859. Run applied for by John O'Rourke, described as 'bounded on E. by Suga Bogan Black Range and the station of Edward Rourke . . . W. by Christopher Rourke's station named Wan Woollogorang . . . S. by Snowy River . . . N. by falls from mountains'. (Note: In this description, the points of the compass have been rotated 90°, so the 'W' here is actually S., etc.)

MALLACOOTA. 23 May 1856. Application by S. C. Johnson for Mallacoota run, in which he described it as having 'a couple of huts and a stockyard'. He stated that it had been occupied by William Baird, an Otaheiteian, who had died in 1854.

MARAMINGO. 8 April 1853. Run applied for by Alexander Weatherhead of Eden. Boundaries were Genoa River on S. and W. and 'Tombillica River' (= Wallagaraugh River) on E.

NEWMERELLA or LOCHEND. 16 May 1848. Norman Macleod stated 'the precise period during which I have held licence for . . . Numeralla or Lochend . . . (is) from 1st July 1847'.

OME0. 23 March 1848. In application for lease (Omeo A), John Pendergast gave his address as Campbelltown.

9 October 1854. W. Piper, Commissioner of Crown Lands, described the improvements (Omeo B, James Macfarlane's run) as 'the homestead of an original and entire run since the year 1849 consisting of two huts, stockyards, stables, garden, grazing and cultivation paddocks'.

- ORBOST. 29 May 1848. John Macleod stated 'the precise period during which I have held a licence for my station called Orbost . . . is from the 1st of July 1847'.
- SUGGAN BUGGAN. 31 December 1847. Application for run by Benjamin Boyd.  
20 October 1856. Transfer from Henry Kesterton to James McGuffie.  
22 January 1858. Transfer from McGuffie to Edward O'Rourke.  
13 April 1868. Edward O'Rourke stated that his improvements had been at Suggan Buggan for 20 years.
- TUBBUT. 7 October 1847. Thomas M. Moore of Burnima, N.S.W., stated that he had occupied the Tubbut run for the previous nine years. (This has led to the published statement (Hansford, loc. cit) that Moore took up the run in October 1838, but Moore's round figure of 'nine years' does not justify Hansford's precise dating of the month of original occupancy.)  
18 October 1851. Moore stated that Burnima had been the head station, and that Tubbut and Amboyne were auxiliaries, the last a 'sheep station'.  
30 October 1852. William Whittakers acquired the Tubbut run.
- WANGARABELL. 24 October 1850. J. J. Tyers, Commissioner of Crown Lands, stated that John Stevenson had occupied the run, without taking out any licence, for the previous seven years. (See licence, 16 November 1839, in Appendix 1.)
- WULGULMERANG. 25 June 1848. James O'Rourke applied for 'Woollogoramang'.  
12 August 1848. James O'Rourke stated that he had been a 'licensed payee in the District of Manero for a period of ten years'. (See licences for 15 February 1838 and for subsequent years, in Appendix 1.) The run was described as bounded by Snowy River to E., Mrs. Terry Hughes to W., Deep Creek mountains to N., scrub and barren ranges to S. (In this description also, the points of the compass are rotated 90°, as with the description of Little River, above.)  
16 February 1852. Transfer from James O'Rourke to P. C. Buckley.  
26 February 1859. Transfer to Christopher O'Rourke.  
25 March 1860. J. J. Hedley, Commissioner of Crown Lands, stated, 'from the original occupant (i.e. James O'Rourke) I learn that the north boundary was a deep creek (south of the Little River) rising in the Native Dog Ranges and falling into the Little River before its junction with the Snowy River'. (The 'deep creek' is Wulgulmerang Creek.)  
7 May 1860. J. J. Hedley stated, 'James Rourke, first licensee of Wulgulmerang, states that he never applied for nor occupied the country beyond the deep creek south of the Little River. He held the run seven years and then sold to Mr. P. C. Buckley. Buckley sold to Captain Jones who . . . never occupied the run but sold to Christopher Rourke the present occupant'.